

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 COLOMB 03239 01 OF 02 270545Z

12  
ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 AF-08 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12 /103 W

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R 261210Z AUG 76  
FM AMEMBASSY COLOMBO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5686  
INFO NAC COLLECTIVE 99

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 COLOMBO 3239

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PORG,PFOR  
SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: ASSESSMENT OF NON-ALIGNMENT  
MOVEMENT AFTER COLOMBO

1. SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE ADDRESSES ITSELF TO THE NATURE OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, ITS INABILITY TO EXERCISE LEADERSHIP ON MOST SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES NOT ONLY BETWEEN SUMMIT MEETINGS BUT EVEN AT THEM. AS OPEN QUESTION IS WHETHER THE NACC CAN PLAY A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN NEW YORK IN THE FUTURE; ITS COMPOSITION IS EXAMINED. THE U.S. SHOULD TAKE THE MOVEMENT SERIOUSLY, BUT NOT TOO SERIOUSLY, AND GO ON WITH ITS OTHER RELATIONSHIP, BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL. END SUMMARY:

2. THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT IS A HIGHLY HETEROGENEOUS, UNSTRUCTURED GROUPING OF 86 THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES,WHOSE INDIVIDUAL CLAIMS TO THE STATUS OF NON-ALIGNMENT DEFY DEFINITION OR COMPREHENSION. IT MEETS EVERY THREE YEARS AT THE CHIEF OF STATE LEVEL IN A GRAND BURST OF INDIVIDUAL ORATORY, ONE SPEAKER AT A TIME, OFTEN TO AN EMPTY HOUSE IN THE WEE HOURS OF THE MORNING. THIS YEAR ONE OR TWO SPEAKERS DID NOT BOTHER TO READ THEIR USUALLY LENGTHY ADDRESSES, BUT JUST HANDED THEM IN, AFTER THE FASHION OF REMARKS ON PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS AT THE

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PAGE 02 COLOMB 03239 01 OF 02 270545Z

WHITE HOUSE. MOST HAD THE IMPACT OF SUCH PRESENTATION

REMARKS. IN BETWEEN TIMES, THERE ARE ONE, SOMETIMES TWO MEETINGS AT THE FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL OF ALL 86, AND OCCASIONAL STUDY GROUPS ON SPECIFIC PROBLEMS, WHOSE RECOMMENDATIONS TEND TO BE LARGELY ADOPTED AND THEN IGNORED. THE STERRING GROUP, IN THE MEANTIME, IS A 17-MEMBER (NOW RAISED TO 25) COORDINATING COMMITTEE, WHICH NORMALLY MEETS AT THE AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL AT THE UN, BUT WHICH CAN IMPORT FOREIGN MINISTERS FOR A MEETING IF SO DESIRED. THERE IS NO SECRETARIAT, NO PERMANENT STAFF; EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH SOMETHING OF THIS SORT HAVE BEEN STRENUOUSLY RESISTED BY THE MEMBERS, WHO FEAR THAT SUCH MACHINERY WOULD FALL INTO THE HANDS OF ONE POWER, MUCH IN THE SENSE THAT EGYPT TENDS TO DOMINATE THE ARAB LEAGUE.

3. WHILE THE NAM CONSIDERS BOTH POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES, ALL OF ITS MEMBERS TAKE PART IN NUMEROUS OTHER GROUPINGS, LARGER AND SMALLER, WHICH DEAL WITH MUCH OF THE SAME SUBJECT MATTER AS THE NAM, THOUGH NOT USUALLY AT THE CHIEF OF STATE LEVEL. THESE RANGE FROM THE UN ITSELF, THE 112-MEMBER GROUP OF 77, THROUGH REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS (OAU, ARAB LEAGUE), TO MUCH SMALLER GROUPS SUCH AS THE CIEC IN PARIS, OR INDIVIDUAL COMMODITY GROUPINGS. MOST OF THESE GROUPINGS PERFORM THEIR TASKS MORE EFFICIENTLY AND MORE URGENTLY, LEAVING THE NAM LARGELY DEVOTED TO EXHORTATORY ORATORY, WITH LITTLE PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE. IN FACT, NON-ALIGNED SUMMIT CONFERENCES ARE RATHER DISTINGUISHED BY THE PAUCITY OF ANY NEW IDEAS OR SUGGESTIONS; THE OLD ONES ARE JUST REFURBISHED IN NEW LANGUAGE. PROBABLY THE ONLY ESSENTIALLY NEW PROPOSALS AT THE COLOMBO SUMMIT WERE MRS. BANDARANAIKE'S FOR A COUNTERVAILING CURRENCY AND A THIRD WORLD COMMERCIAL BANK, BOTH OF WHICH SEEM BASED ON EXPECTATIONS OF OPEC FINANCIAL SUPPORT WHICH SEEMS RATHER UNLIKELY. THE ONLY HISTORICAL EXCEPTION TO THE GENERAL INEFFECTIVENESS OF THE MOVEMENT WAS THE SURGE OF ACTIVITY IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE ARISING OUT OF THE 4TH SUMMIT AT ALGIERS, RESULTING IN THE 6TH AND 7TH SPECIAL SESSIONS. BUT THIS IS THE EXCEPTION THAT PROVES THE RULE. THAT

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PAGE 03      COLOMB 03239 01 OF 02 270545Z

BURST OF ACTIVITY OCCURRED BECAUSE ONE (ALGERIA) OR A SMALL GROUP OF COUNTRIES WOKED UP A FAIRLY SPECIFIC PROGRAM OF ACTION WHICH THEY SOLD, NOT ONLY TO THE NAM, BUT EVENTUALLY TO PRACTICALLY ALL THE THIRD WORLD. IN OTHER WORDS, IN THE HANDS OF A DETERMINED AND CAPABLE LEADER WLIKE THE ALGERIA OF 1973, THE NAM MAY BE GALVANIZED INTO SOME DEGREE OF ACTION. HOWEVER, OBVIOUSLY THE SUBJECT MATTER MUST BE SUCH

THAT THE MEMBERS AND THE THIRD WORLD GENERALLY  
ARE LIKELY TO FURNISH ALMOST UNEQUIVOVAL SUPPORT.

4. WHERE WILL NAM GO IN THE NEXT THREE YEARS, OTHER  
THAN TO HAVANA? THE COLOMBO CONFERENCE SPENED SOME  
PROCEDURAL CRACKS IN THE MOVEMENT WHICH MAY PROVIDE  
A PRECEDENT MFOR ORE DIVERSIFIED VIEWPOINTS IN FUTURE  
FOREIGN MINISTER AND SUMMIT MEETINGS. SHILE THE  
UNWIELDY CONSENSUS SYSTEM OF RESOLVING DISPUTES-  
WHICH SOMETIMES ALLOWS ISSUES TO BE HANDILY SWEEPED  
UNDER THE CARPET, REMAINS IN FORCE, THERE IS FAR  
GREATER READINESS TO STAND UP AND RESERVE POSITIONS  
ON ISSUES. THIS IN TURN MAY ENCOURAGE GREATER CONSULTATION ON  
DRAFTS AND A TREND AWAY FROM THE BACKROOM  
"STERRING COMMITTEE" TACTICS PERFECTED IN THE PAST BY  
THE ALGERIANS AND OTHERS.  
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PAGE 01 COLOMB 03239 02 OF 02 270554Z

12  
ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 AF-08 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

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R 261210Z AUG 76  
FM AMEMBASSY COLOMBO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5687  
INFO NAC COLLECTIVE 100

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 COLOMBO 3239

E.O. 11652:GDS  
TAGS: PORG, PFOR  
SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: ASSMENT OF THE NON-ALIGNED  
MOVEMENT AFTER COLOMBO

5. SINCE THE RESULT OF FOREIGN MINISTER AND SUMMIT  
CONFERENCES TENDS MOST TOWARDS A REITERATION OF TIRED  
LANGUAGE AND CLICHES, IT IS DIFFICULT TO PREDICT WHAT

TRANSIENT ISSUES MAY BE IMPORTANT ONE,TWO OR THREE  
YEARS HENCE.THE FOCUS THEN SWINGS TO THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE (NACC)

WHICH IN MAN TERMINOLOGY BECOMES  
A COORDINATING BUREAU WHEN REPRESENTATION IS AT THE  
FOREIGN MINISTERS'S LEVEL, INSTEAD OF THE NEW YORK  
AMBASSADORS. WILL THE NACC REALLY DEVELOP ANY NEW  
EFFECTIVENESS A POLICY GUIDANCE COMMITTEE? IT  
PROVIDES AN INSTRUMENT FOR PILING UP A RECORD AT THE  
UN TO CONDEMN SOME HORROR INFLICTED ON A THIRD WORLD  
MEMBER THE DAY BEFORE YESTERDAY,THOUGH ONE WOULD  
SUSPECT IT IS HARDLY NEEDED FOR THIS. IT SEEMS CLEAR  
THAT IT WILL NOT BE USED TO GUIDE AND DIRECT ECONOMIC  
NEGOTIATING GROUPS IF ANY OF A DOZEN ECONOMIC FORUMS.  
POLITICAL MATTERS? BUT THESE TEND OFTEN TO FRACTURE  
INTO REGIONAL ISSUES. (A RADIO REPORT FROM SOMEWHERE  
A DAY OR SO AGO MENTIONED A CALL BY SOMEONE FOR A  
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PAGE 02      COLOMB 03239 02 OF 02 270554Z

CHIEFS OF STATE MEETING NOW OF AFRICAN AND ARAB  
CHIEFS OF STATE, REMARKING THAT THIS WOULD JOIN 58  
OF THE 86 NAM COUNTRIES,THEREBY PRESUMABLY LEAVING  
ASIA AND LATIN AMERICAN OUT IN THE COLD.) YET, IT IS  
ALWAYS POSSIBLE TO APPEAL TO THE OLD SCHOOL TUD FOR  
MATTERS IN WHICH MOST MEMBERS HAVE VIRTUALLY NO INTEREST,  
IN TIME-HONORED LOG-ROLLING PATTERN THAT HAS CHARACTERIZED  
THE MOVEMENT FROM ITS EARLIEST DAYS.

6. THE NEW NACC IS CERTAINLY A MORE RADICAL BODY THAN  
THE OLD ONE. ITS TWENTY-FIVE MEMBERS, CHAIRED BY SRI LANKA,  
WOULD SEEM TO HAVE PERHAPS 10 RADICALS (GUINEA,  
NIGERIA, ALGERIA,TANZANIA, ANGOLA,CUBA,PLO, IRAQ,  
SYRIA AND VIETNAM), PERHAPS 11 RELATIVE MODERATES  
(LIBERIA, ZAMBIA,ZAIRE,GUYANA, JAMAICA, PERU, UYGOSLAVIA,  
SRI LANKA, INDONESIA, INDIA, AND THE BANGLADESH/  
AFGHANISTAN SPLIT SEAT COMBINATION),AND 4 WHO MIGHT  
BE CONSIDERED VIRTUALLY INACTIVE AND NOT PRONE TO INITIATIVES  
(NIGER, CHAD, SUDAN AND BOTSWANA). OBVIOUSLY,  
EVERY COUNTRY IS RADICAL ON SOME ISSUES AND POTENTIALLY  
MODERATE ON OTHERS, SO THESE ARE ROUGH CHARACTERIZATIONS. WE  
ARE RELIEVED THAT NORTH KOREA FAILED IN  
ITS BID FOR MEMBERSHIP AND EVEN IN ITS EFFORT TO SECURE  
THE NEXT FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING FOR PYONGYANG.

7. WHAT ABOUT ATTITUDES AMONG THE MEMBER COUNTRIES?  
IT WOULD SEEM THAT MOST LATINS HAVE VIRTUALLY OPTED OUT  
OF THE MOVEMENT,LEAVING IT ESSENTIALLY A 2-CONTINENT MOVEMENT  
PLUS YUGOSLAVIA AND A FEW CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES.ONE OF OUR  
VISITING OBSERVERS REMARKED THAT THE LARGE BULK OF THE  
MEMBERS ARE ESSENTIALLY MODERATE, WITH A STRONG ANTI-

COLONIALIST (I.E.,ANTI-US), ANTI-ISRAEL (I.E. ANTI-US),  
AND PRO THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER (I.E., ANTI  
US) PREFERENCE.BUT, HE SAYS, THEY ARE STILL BASICALLY  
MODERATE, AND INCREASINGLY WILLING TO SPEAK UP, MAKING  
THE SILENT MAJORITY BECOME THE NOT-SO-SILENT MAJORITY.  
THIS CONFERENCE SAW THE ARRIVAL OF NEW RADICALS (NORTH  
KOREA,VIETNAM, ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE) TO JOIN THE OLD  
RADICALS, WHO SEEM ALMOST MODERATE BY COMPARISON  
(ALGERIA, LIBYA, CUBA). PERHAPS IN THREE YEARS THE  
VIETNAMESE MAY BECOME A MODEL OF PRAGMATIC MODERATION.  
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PAGE 03      COLOMB 03239 02 OF 02 270554Z

OUTSIDE OF THE CONFRONTATION WITH MALAYSIA, THEY  
SEEMED TO GO FAR ATO AVOID ROCKING THE BOAT AT COLOMBO.

8.WHAT ARE THE IMPLICATIONS FOR US POLICY? IT SEEMS  
OBVIOUS THAT WE CANNOT, AND SHOULD NOT, IGNORE THE MOVEMENT,  
AS WE WERE ABOT TO DO FOR THE FIRST DECADE OF  
TIS EXISTENCE. WE INTERACT WITH EACH AND EVERY ONE  
OF ITS MEMBERS ALMOST DAILY ON A VARIETY OF ISSUES,  
SEEK THEIR SUPPORT AT THE UN,AND SO ON.WE BELIEVE  
THAT WE SHOULD SWALLOW OUR DISTASTE FOR THIRD WORLD  
RHETORIC ONTHE SHOPWORN THEMES OF IMPERIALISM,  
ANTI-COLONIALISM, NEO/COLONIALISM, AN THE LIKE, AND  
CONCENTRATE, AS WE TENDED TO DO THIS YEAR, ON THE SPECIFIC  
ISSUES THAT STEP ON OUR TOES, LOBBYING AS HARD AS WE  
REASONABLY CAN, ASSURING THE MEMBERS THAT WE DO TAKE THE  
MOVEMENT SERIOUSLY, AND THEN-REALIZING THAT ITS HOLD  
ON ITS MEMBERS BETWEEN SUMMITS IS ABOUT AS EPHEMERAL  
AS AN AMERICAN NATIONAL POLITICAL PARTY STRUCTURE  
BETWEEN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS, PROCEED NOT TO TAKE  
MOVEMENT ALL THAT SERIOUSLY AFTER THE FACT, WHEN  
IT DOES HAVE A BASH AT US ON A PARTICULAR ISSUE. WE  
HAVE SHOWN THE MEMBERSHIP THAT WE ARE WATCHING AND DO  
TAKE THEIR ACTIVITY INTO ACCOUNT ON OUR OWN KEY  
ISSUES. OUR FEELING IS THAT HAVING DONE SO,IT IS  
PERHAPS BEST NOT TO LINGER ON THE POST MORTEM  
BUT TO GO ON TO THE NEXT BATTLES IN THE NEXT DYNAMICS.  
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## Message Attributes

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